THE DOCTRINAL OF PRINCES made by the noble orateur Isocrates, & translated out of Greke in to Englishe by syr Thomas Eliot knight.

1534

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Sir Thomas Eliot knight to the reader.

This little booke (whiche in mine opinion) is to be compared in coũsaile and shoꝛt sentence with any booke, holy scripture excepted, I haue translated out of greeke, not pꝛesumyng to contende with theim, whiche haue doone the same in latine: but to thintent onely that I wolde assaie, if our Englisshe tunge mought receiue the quicke and pꝛopꝛe sentences pꝛonounced by the greekes. And in this experience I haue founde (if I be not muche deceiued) that the foꝛme of speakyng, vsed of the Greekes, called in greeke, and also in latine, Phrasis, muche nere appꝛocheth to that, whiche at this daie we vse: than the oꝛder of the latine tunge: I meane in the sentences, and not in the woꝛdes: whiche I doubte not shall be affirmed

by them, who sufficiently instructed in all the saide three tunges, shall with a good iudgement read this worke. And where I haue put at the beginnyng this word, vessell, plate, or for that which is in greeke, brasse or golde wrought, it is perceiued of euery wise man, for what intent I did it. Finally the chiefe cause of this my litle exercise was: to the intent that thei, which do not vnderstande greeke nor latine, shoulde not lacke the commoditee and pleasure, whiche maie be taken in readyng therof. wherfore if I shall perceiue you to take this myne enterprise thankefully, I shall that litle portion of life, whiche remaineth (God sendyng me quietnesse of minde) bestowe in preparing for you such bookes, in the readyng wherof, ye shall finde bothe honest passe tyme and also profitable counsaile and lernyng.

Fare ye well.



Thei that be wonte Nicocles, to bringe to you, that be kynges, garmentes, vessell, or plate, or other lyke iewelles, wher of thei be nedie, and ye be riche, and haue plentie: thei plainely seme vnto me, not to present you, but to make open market, sellyng those thinges much more craftily, than thei that confesse them selfe to retaile. For my parte I suppose that to bee the beste geste and moste profitable, also most conuenient as well for me to geue, as for the to receiue, if I mought prescribe vnto the, by what studies desiryng, and from what workes abstreinyng, thou maist best order thy roialme and citee. For to priuate persons be sufficient Instructions, specially that thei liue not delicately, but daiely do labour for thinges con-

cernyng their liuyng. And moreouer thei haue lawes, wherby thei are gouerned: Thei haue also libertee of speche, wherwith it is lefull for freendes to blame eche other, and enemies to reproche eche other of their offences. Therto diuers ancient poetes haue left sondrie workes, instructyng men howe to liue well, so that by all those meanes it seemeth, that diuers men haue amended their liuyng.

¶But to great princes no suche thyng happeneth, for thei, who of all other ought to be best taught or instructed, after thei be ones stablished in their authoritee: thei styll perseuere most ignorant and without lernyng. For as muche as many men dare not approche them, and thei that kepe theim companie speake alwaie to please them.

¶Moreouer, beyng made lordes of muche substance and great authoritee, and not vsyng well suche occsions as hap-

happen, thei haue caused many to doubte, whiche life is best to be chosen, either of them that liue priuately and meanely, or of them that be in princely dignitee. for whan they beholde their honour, richesse, and authoritee, thei suppose, that all princes be equall to gods, but whan thei consider the feare and perils, and reuoluyng in their remembrances dooe finde some slaine by them, that lesse ought to haue doone it, other doyng some displeasure to their most familiar companions, to diuers happeth bothe the one and the other: than contrarie wise thei thinke it better and more commodious, to liue in any other maner, how so euer it be, than in so many dangers, to be kynge of all Asie. The cause of this disorder and trouble, is for as muche as thei repute a kyngedome as mete for euery man to haue, as any other meane office, where of al thinges perteining to man, a king-

dome is the greatteſt, and requireth moſt prouidence, touchyng euery acte, wherby a man maie beſte gouerne acordyng to the maners of people, and to obſerue ſuche thinges as be good, and eſchue thoſe that be noifull: it is expedient to take counſaile, and examine ſuche actes as be in daily experience. Generally, all ſtudies, whiche ought to be obſerued moſt diligently, and wherin a man ought to be exerciſed, I wyll aſſaie to declare. but whether this my giſte ones finiſhed, ſhall accorde to the purpoſe that I goe about: it is harde to know at the beginnyng. for many thinges, whiche haue bene written as well in verſe as in proſe, as longe as thei were in the myndes of the writars, men had of them great expectation: but after thei were ones finiſhed & openly publiſhed, men had of them opinion much laſſe than thei hoped. Howe be it this myne enterpriſe is to be commended,

wherin I seke for that, whiche other men haue committed, and do prescribe rules to them that be gouernours.

¶ For they that teache priuate persons, do profite them whom thei teache onely: But if any man instructeth in vertu them that haue rule ouer the multitude, he therby profiteth the one and the other as well them that be in auctorite, as those that be vnder their gouernance, for as muche as to the firste he maketh their auctho̅rite the more stable and sure, and to the other he causeth the rule or gouernance to be the more easier.

¶ First therfore it muste be considered, what is the office of them that dooe gouerne, for if we order well the head, and that which is the principall of the whole matter, hauyng our respecte therunto, the better shall we treate of the residue.

I suppose all men wyll graunt, that it perteineth to princes, their countreie by any aduersitee, beyng troubled, to set

it in quietnesse: And if it be welthie, so to preserue it. And to make also great of that, that is litle, sens therfore all other thynges, whiche daiely happen, ought to bee doone and experienced, and verily it is apparant to all men, that it behoueth them, that are and shal be of power to do the premisses, and also those, whiche shall therof consult, not to be ignorant: but to consider how thei maie vse them more prudently than other in their ministracion.

For it is very certaine that suche shall princes haue their roialmes and gouernance, as thei them selfes haue prepared their owne mindes and opinions.

And therfore no wrastler or champion ought so muche to trauaile his bodie in exercise, as kynges ought their mindes in studie: for all the prices that euer were geuen in commune games or Justes, are in no parte to be compared to that price, wherfore ye that be kinges

ges, daiely do labour: whiche thynges considered, it is expedient to take good hede, that as muche as thou excellest other men in honour, so much more thou maiest excede them in vertues. And thinke not care and diligēce in al other thinges profitable, and in makyng vs better to be of none importance: We condemne not mans infelicitee, that concernyng beastes we haue founde crafftes to make them tame, and to be of more value, and litle do auaunce our selfes to the atteinyng of vertue. but rather as lernyng and industrie maie be in any thynge beneficiall vnto our soules, so order thy witte and opinion. Be also most familiar with them, whiche beyng about the, be wisest: and get other suche as thou maiest come by moste like vnto them.

Thinke not that it shall become thee, to lacke the knowlage of any famous poetes and other great learned men: but

but be thou of the one the herer, of the other the disciple or scholer.

¶ Prepare thy selfe so, that in vertue thou maiest be iudge of them, whiche therin be thine inferiours, and a contendar with them that be thy superiours, by suche maner of exercise thou shalte soone atteine to be suche one, as we determined that he ought to be, that ruleth a right, and gouerneth well his countreie or citee.

¶ Thou shalt be counsailed best by thy selfe, in thinkyng it inconuenient, that the better be ruled by the worse, or that fooles before wise men shulde be preferred.

¶ The more vehemently thou abhorrest other mens madnesse or folie, the better shalte thou practise thy wit: for therat must thei begyn, that purpose to do any of those thynges, whiche be conuenient and necessarie. And therwith loue well their people and countraie,

for

for no man shall rule well either, horse or hounds, nor men, or any thyng els, if he delite not and take pleasure in those thynges, whiche be vnder his gouernance.

¶ Take care of the multitude, and esteme aboue all thynges, to rule graciously ouer them, whom thou gouernest, remembring that as well where fewe persons gouerneth, as also in other commune weales, thei longest doe continue, that for the multitude do take most care and studie.

Iniuries to be auoided.

¶ Thou shalte truly rule well thy people, if thou neither doest suffre any man to do wronge, nor despisest any that suffreth wronge. And takest good hede, that good men be rewarded with honour and auctoritee, and that other by any iniurie be not indamaged. These be the principles and chiefe introduction in to the right and commendable gouernance of a publike weale.

¶ Re-

Hurtefull tradicions to be auoided.

¶ Repell or change suche lawes and ordinances as be not well constitute, specially be thou the auctour of those that be good, or at the least the folower of them that were well made by other.

What the lawes shulde be.

¶ Seke for suche lawes, that on al partes be good, and doe profite to all vniuersally, and in them selfes be of one accorde and consent: moreouer, those that amonge the people make fewest contencions. And suche controuersies as be, determine them shortely. Al these thynges ought to be in lawes, that be well and substancially ordeined.

¶ Prouide for thy people suche occupacion, as wherby may growe great advantage and lucre, and that contencion and sute, maie bringe to them detrimente, to the intent that they maie eschue the tone, to the other thei maie be well disposed and redy.

¶ In controuersies geue alwaies such sentence as is not repugnant, and pronounce

aonce thy iudgementes without fauour to any man, and without discordance, so that thei be euer all one and like in semblable causes.

¶It becometh and is also expedient to princes in matter of iustice, to haue the minde immoueable, like to the lawes that be well prouided.

¶Order thy Citee or countreie, lyke thy house lefte by thy father, in stuffe gaie and roially decked, in occupation busie and diligent, that thou maiest haue bothe honour and abundance of richesse. To gouerne a citee.

¶Al be it declare thy magnificence not in such sumptuous expences, that shortly doo banishe, but onely in the thynges before expressed: that is to saie, in the adournyng or garnishyng of thy possessions, and in beneficence and liberalitee towarde thy friendes, for that, whiche is so emploied, shal remaine with the styll, and thou shalt leaue to thy chil-

children more commoditee therby, than thei shoulde haue of superfluous expences.

¶ In the honour due vnto god obserue diligently that whiche is lefte vnto thee by thy progenitours. and suppose verily, that sacrifice to be moste acceptable and seruice most thankful to god, if thou endeuour thy selfe to excell all other men in vertue and iustice. For vndoubtedly therby shalt thou optein more reasonable peticions, than if thou dydst geue vnto hym great treasure or offrynges.

¶ Rewarde thy familiar counsaflours with principall dignitees, and to them whom thou knowest beneuolent and trustie, geue perpetuall and stable promotions.

A princes sure garde

¶ Thinke that the beste and most sure garde of thy person be frendes vertuous and honest, louyng and beneuolent subiectes, and thine owne wyll stable

and

and circumspecte: for by those thynges authoritee is optained and lengest preserued.

¶ Haue good awaite on the householdes, and expences of thy subiectes, thinkyng that thei dispendyng vnprofitably, doo consume thyne owne propre treasure, and that whiche thei get by their good husbandrie augmenteth thy substance and honour: Considerynge that all the goodes of them that be subiectes, be at the commaundement of the prince that ruleth well and honourably.

A princes right ouer his subiectes.

¶ Let men perceiue the to haue alwaie truthe in suche reuerence, that to thy wordes, thei mai sooner geue credence than to other mens othes.

¶ Make thy countreie safe and sure abidyng to all them that be strangers, and in their contractes iuste and indifferent.

¶ Of suche as doo repaire vnto thee,

set moze by them, that foz some merite doe looke to haue some thynge of thee, than of those that do bzynge pzesentes to thee, foz honozyng men foz their merites thou shalte muche moze be of other commended.

¶Take awaie feare fro thy subiectes, and be not terrible to them that haue not offended, but like as thou wouldest haue them disposed towarde the, so be thou towarde them.

¶Doe thou nothyng in furie, sens other men knowe what time and occasion is meetest foz the.

¶Be thou sene to haue suche wisedome and grauitee, that nothyng that is done can be hid from thee, not withstanding be thou easie and mercifull, in punishyng offences vnder their merites.

¶Shewe thy selfe pzincely, not in sturdinesse, oz punishyng cruelly, but in surmountyng all other in wisedome, that thei maie suppose that thou canst

counsaile

counsaile them better for their weale than thei can them selfes.

¶ Be also warlike and valiant in feates of armes and prouision for warres, but yet notwithstandyng imbrace thou peace, and do nothyng iniustly.

¶ Deale thou with inferior countreies in all entercourses and mutuall contractes, accordyng as thou woldest that thei that be to thy countreie superiours, shulde do vnto the.

¶ Striue not for euery thyng, but for that onely whiche, if thou opteinest maie be to thy profite.

¶ Blame not them that be vanquished to their commoditee, but accompte the to be fooles that do vanquishe other to their owne detriment.

¶ Suppose not them to be men of great wisedome, that doe take greatter thinges in hande than thei can ordre: but those, whiche in meane thynges dooe bringe well to passe that that thei pur-

poſed.

¶ Folowe not them that dooe opteine greatteſt auctoꝛitee, but them that beſt vſe thinges that be pꝛeſent.

¶ Finally do not thinke thy ſelfe happie, if thou ruleſt ouer all men terribly and in great danger, but if beyng ſuche as thou oughteſt to be, and doyng as the time pꝛeſent requireth, thou deſireſt moderate thynges, and therof thou lackeſt nothyng, than arte thou happy.

¶ Get thee frendes, not all them that dooe ſeke frendſhip of the: but ſuche as be moſt agreable vnto thy nature, neither thoſe, with whom thou ſhalte line pleſantly, but with whom thou maieſt gouerne thy countrey moſt ſurely.

¶ Make diligent eſpiall and pꝛouſe of thy moſt familiar ſeruantes, remembꝛyng that ſuche as be not with the ſo conuerſant, doe ſuppoſe that thou arte liſe in conditions to them, whom thou vſeſt familiarly.

Mar-

¶ Matters, wherwith thou thy selfe wilte not medel, committe to suche persons, as what so euer thei do, the blame shall be imputed chiefely vnto the.

¶ Thinke not them to be loial or faithfull, that doe preise all thyng that thou doest, but them that do blame the thing, wherin thou errest.

¶ Geue to wise men libertee to speake to thee freely: that in thynges, wherof thou doubtest, thou maiest haue them, with whom thou maiest trie out the certaintee.

¶ Discerne crafty flatterers, from thē that dooe serue the with true herte and beneuolence, lest the euill men receiue more profite by thee, than thei that be honest and vertuous. Craftie flatterers.

¶ Here diligently what men speke mutually one of an other, and assaie to know as well what maner of persons those be that haue spoken, as also thei, of whom thei reported.

False detractours.

¶ Accordyngly as thou correcteſt offenders, ſemblably, and with the ſame puniſhment correcte falſe detractours and accuſers of innocentes.

¶ Haue no laſte dominion or rule ouer thy ſelfe, than ouer other.

¶ Thinke it moſte incident vnto a kynge and moſt roiall, neuer to be ſubiecte to pleaſant affections, but to rule more ouer thyne appetites than ouer thy people and ſubiectes.

¶ Admitte no recreacion without good aduiſement, but delite in ſuche exerciſe, wherby thou maiſt receiue ſome commoditee, and that other maie perceiue, that thou arte therby the better.

¶ Glory not in ſuche thinges, which are poſſible to be done by them that be vnthriftes, but reioice in vertue, wherin euill men can not participate with thee.

Merye honour.

¶ Suppoſe not honour to be that, which is publiſhed abrode with feare, but verie honour to be, where men by them

ſelfes

selfes wonder more at thy wisedome than at thy fortune.

¶If it chance the to take any pleasure in any thynge that is not honest or vertuouse, do it verie secretly, but goyng about thinges of gret weight and importãce, shew thy selfe abrode vnto al men.

¶Require not that all other men shuld liue in good order, and princes to be in their liuyng remisse and negligent, but order thy temperance in liuyng, to be an example to other, considerynge that the maners of all the whole citee or contraie, do insue and resemble their princes condicions.

¶It shall be to the a token, that thou hast well gouerned, if thou perceiue them that be vnder thy gouernance to be by thy diligence welthie and more temperate in liuyng.

¶Set more by leauyng to thy children honest fame or renoume, than gret possessions or richesse. for these be tran- Honest fame.

sytozie, the other immoztall. Also goo-
des maie be gotten by fame, but good
fame can be bought with no money.
Also goodes happen to men that be of
euill disposicion, but so doth not good
estimacion, but cometh onely to them
that endeuour them selfe with vertue to
gette it.

¶ Be delicate in thine apparaile and
garmentes that serue foz thy bodie, in
all other partes of thy liuyng be conti-
nent as it besemeth all pzinces of ho-
nour, to the intent that thei that be-
holde the, foz thine honozable pzesence
mai deme the wozthy to be a gouernour
and thy familiars and seruauntes foz
thy noble courage may haue of the a
lyke good opinion.

¶ Consider diligently both thyne owne
woozdes and thy dedes, to the intent
thou maist fall in very fewe errours.

¶ Of all thynges it is besse to happen
on the right pointe of all thynges that
are

are to be doone, but for as muche as that is very harde to be knowen, better is to leue somewhat, than to excede. For that, wherin somewhat doth lacke is nerer to temperance, than that wherin is to muche abundance.

¶ Endeuour the to be bothe courtaise and of a reuerende grauitee: for the one besemeth a prince, the other is expedient and more agreable to euery company: all be it to vse both, it is of all other thinges the mosse difficile. for thou shalte fynde for the more parte them that vse a reuerent grauitee to be vnpleasaunt, them that be courtoyse, to be of base courage and simple. Therfore the one and the other is to be vsed, but than exchue that thyng, whiche in any of them is yll or semeth inconuenient. Courtesy & grauitee.

¶ If thou woldest perfectly know that, which belongeth to kynges to perceiue, geue the to experience and studie of philosophy, for philosophy shall declare vn- Experyence and philosophy.

to thee the meanes or waies howe to bringe to passe thine affaires: experience in semblable businesse shall make the able to doo or suffeine them.

¶ Beholde diligently, that whiche as well princes as priuate persons do daily, and what of their actes doth succede in conclusion.

¶ Surely if thou remembre well thinges that are passed, thou shalt the better consulte of thynges comyng.

¶ Thinke where priuate persons haue died with good will, to the intent that after their death thei mought be commended, that it were great shame to princes, not to trauaile in suche studie or businesse, wherby in their liues thei maie be worthily praised.

¶ Desyre to leaue whan thou diest, rather monumentes or images of thy vertues than of thy personage.

¶ Endeuor the specially to kepe alwai thy selfe and thy countrey in suretie.

¶ If necessitee constreigne thee to ieoparde thy person, chose ratherto die with honour, than to liue in reproche.

¶ In all thyne actes remembre that thou arte a prince: and therfore do nothynge vnworthie to so high a dignitee.

¶ Set not so litle by thy nature, that thou suffre thy selfe all wholly to perish, but in as muche as thy bodie is mortal, and thy soule immortall, assaie to leue to thy soule an immortall remẽbrance.

¶ Vse thee to speake of honest affaires and studies, that by suche custome thou maiest thinke on like thynges as thou spekest of.

¶ Thynges that in counsailyng seme to be beste, those execute thou in thy proper actes.

¶ At whose good renowme thou hast most enuie, his dedes do thou folow.

¶ Looke what thou counsailest thy children or seruantes to doe, thinke it conuenient that thy selfe do the same.

Either

¶ Either vse that whiche I haue aduised the to do, or enquyre for better than that is.

¶ Suppose not them to be wise men, that sharpely can talke of small thinges and trifles, but those that can substancially reason in matters of weighty importance.

¶ Nor thinke not them wise, that promisse to other men welthe and good fortune, thei them selfe beyng in great necessitee, but rather those that speakyng of them selfes moderately, can with other men and in their affaires vse them selfe well and discretely and beyng not troubled with any change of their liuing, knowe howe to beare honestly and temperately as well aduersitee as also prosperitee.

¶ And meruaile thou not, that I haue now rehersed many thynges that thou knewest before, nor that forgatte I not, but knewe well enough, that beyng

ſuche a multitude as well of princes as of priuate perſons, ſome of them haue ſpoken the ſame that I did, and many haue hearde it, and diuers haue ſeen other men done it, and ſome there be that by them ſelfes haue experienced it. Notwithſtanding in mater concernyng Inſtruction, noueltie is not to be ſought for, for therin ought not to be founden either ſinguler opinion, or thynge impoſſible, or contrarie to mens coniecture: but ſuppoſe that to be in heryng moſte gracious or pleaſant, whiche beyng ſowen in the mindes of other, maie aſſemble moſte matter to the purpoſe, and the ſame declare beſte and moſte aptely. For this knowe I well, that the counſailes and wiſe ſentences of poetes and other good authours, are thought of all men to be very profitable: yet will not thei very gladly geue eare vnto them, but be therwith in the ſame caſe, as thei be with thoſe that doe

geue

geue them good counsaile, for thei praise them all, but thei care not howe seldome thei come in their compani, desiryng to be rather with offendours, than with them that of sinne be the rebukars. Example we maie take of the poemes or workes of Hesiodus, Theognes, and phocillides. For euery man affirmeth thē to be excellent counsailes concernyng mans lyfe, but all though thei saie so, yet had thei leuer vse that, wherto their owne madnesse inuiteth them, than folow that wherto the others preceptes doeth aduise them. Moreouer if one shulde gader out of the saide authours that whiche men call centences, wherin thei perchance haue ben studiouse: in semblable wise toward them shuld thei be disposed, for thei shuld with more pleasure here a liyng fable or a fātasie, than the saide preceptes made by much connyng and diligence. But what nedeth it to tarie longe vpon euery ma-

ter: Generally if we will consider the natures of men, we shall perceiue, that many of them delite neither in meates that bene most holsome, nor in studies that ben most honest, nor in dedes that be moste conuenient: nor yet in doctrine that is most commodious, but imbracing plesant appetites, which be repugnant to profite, wolde seme to be painfull and laborious, although thei doo nothyng expedient, or necessarie.
Howe maie any man content any suche persons, either by preching or teaching or tellyng of any thynge that is profitable: that for the wordes that be spoken, do enuie and haue indignacion at them that speake truly, and doe take them for plaine men or simple, in whom lacketh wisedome: so muche they abhorre trouthe in all thynges, that thei knowe not what is theirs or do belonge to their office, but consultyng or reasonyng of that whiche dothe perteine vnto them,

thei

thei be ſadde and vnpleaſant, whan thei talke of other mens affaires thei be merie and ioyouſe. Moreouer thei had leauer ſuffer ſome greſe in their bodies, than in reuoluyng what ſhuld be moſte neceſſarie, trauaile any thynge in their mindes. And if a man take good hede he ſhall fynde in theyr mutuall aſſembles and companies, that either thei repꝛoue other men, oꝛ els that thei of other be in ſome thynge repꝛoued. And whan thei be by themſelfes, thei be euer wiſhing and neuer conſultyng. I haue not ſpoken this againe all men but only againe them that be giltie in that, whiche I haue reherſed. Finally this is apparant and certaine, who ſo euer wyll make oꝛ wꝛite any thynge pleaſant and thankfull to the multitude, he maie not ſeke foꝛ wooꝛdes oꝛ matters moſt pꝛofitable, but foꝛ them that conteine moſt fables and leaſynges. Foꝛ in bearyng ſuche thynges thei reioyce:

but

but whan thei perceiue to be labours and contencions in their affaires, than be they pensife. Wherfore Homere and they that founde firste tragedies, mai bee well meruailed at, who in their worke vsed bothe the saide fourmes in writynge, for Homere expressed in his workes the contencions and batailes of them, whiche for their vertues, were named halfe goddes, the other brought those fables into actuall apparaunce.

In so muche as we not onely maie here them, but also maie presently beholde them, by suche example is it declared to them that bee studiouse to please their herers, that thei must abstaine from exhortyng and counsailyng them, and that thei apply them to write and speake that onely, wherin thei perceiue the multitude to haue moste delectacion.

This before written haue I declared, thinkyng that it besemeth not the that art not one of the people, to be of lyke

opinion with the multitude, or to iudge thynges to be honest, or men to be pleasant, according to thy sensuall appetite, but to trie and esteme them by their good and profitable actes.

Moreouer for as muche as they that labour in the studie of Philosophy, concernyng the exercise of the myndes, be of sondrie opinions, some sayyng that men become wiser by muche disputyng and reasonyng, other affirme that it happeth by exercise in politike gouernance, or ciuill causes, diuers suppose it to come of other doctrines: but finally thei all doe confesse, that he whiche is well brought vp, may by euery of the saide studies gather mater sufficient to geue good counsaile.

Therfore he that wyll leaue the doubtfull opinions, and wyll applie to that whiche is certaine, he muste examine the reasons therof, and specially they that be counsailours ought to haue con-

sider

sideracion of the occasion, time and o-
portunitee, if thei can not bringe that to
passe, than to reiecte and put awaie as
well them whiche speke in all matters
generally, as also those that perceiue
nothyng that is expedient or necessarie,
for it is aparant, and certaine, that he
whiche can not be to him selfe profita-
ble, he shall in other mens businesse do
nothynge wisely.

Make muche of them that be wise, and
do perceiue more than other men, and
haue good regarde towarde them: re-
membryng that a good counsailour, is
of all other treasure the most roiall and
profitable, and thinke verily that they
whiche can most aide and profite to thy
witte or reason, shall make thy kynge-
dome moste ample and honorable.

A good counsailour.

Wherfore for my parte as muche as I
can, I haue exhorted the, and honored
the with suche presentes as be in my po-
wer to geue the. And desyre thou not,

that other men shulde bringe vnto the (as I saide at the beginnyng, their accustomed presentes, which ye shuld bie muche derer of the giuers, than of the sellers: but couaite thou suche presentes, whiche if thou do vse well and diligenly omittyng no tyme, thou not onely shalt not consume them, but thou shalte also encrease them, and make them of more estimacion and value.

Finis.

Addicion, to fill vp vacant pages.

EVil truely writeth Salomon, The herte of the kynge is in the hande of god, and whiche wai so euer he willeth he shal incline it: but the very laude of a good kynge is, if he againe incline his herte to god, the kynge of all kynges, alwaie bendyng to his will, without whose fa-

nourable aide, mans indeuour can nothynge dooe: and so frameth all his actes, as knowlageyng and myndyng, that what so euer he dooeth, he dooeth it before his eies, who is no lesse iudge ouer kynges then ouer common people. Nothyng is truely prosperous, nothynge can be called welthy, that the authour of all felicitee wyll not vouchesafe to make fortunate. Most luckely, moste happily it is doone, what so euer is doone accordynge to his wyll, who saieth: By me kynges do reigne, and the lawe makers decerne iuste thinges: by me princes rule, and mighty men iudge iust thynges. This saide the eternall wisedome, whiche is the sonne of God. What prescribeth Sapience to kynges? Mercy (saieth she) and Trouthe doe kepe the kynge: and his Throne is made stronge with clemencie. He sheweth Mercie in succouryng the oppressed: Trouthe in iudgeyng

truely. Clemencie in temperyng the seueritee of the lawes with lenitee.

The speciall duetie, and wherunto kynges were wonte to bee swoorne, whan thei beganne their reigne, was this, to helpe widowes, to succour the fatherlesse, and to deliuer and defende all that are oppressed frō iniurie. Trouthe hath two companions, Sapience and Constance. Sapience geueth light vnto the eies: wherby is perceiued, what is right, and what not, what is profitable for the weale publyke, and what is contrarie to it. Constancie causeth, that the mynde, ouercomyng all couetouse desires, neither with ire, nor with loue, nor with hatred, is moued from honestie. Clemencie tempereth with lenitee necessarie Seueritee. Clemencie is not foorthwith to goe in hande with warre, whan cause of warre is geuen, but to leaue no reasonable meane vnassaied, to see whether the

matter

matter maie bee determined without warre. And otherwhile it is better to dissemble the iniurie, than to reuenge it by force of armes. It is Clemencie, if by no meanes it maie be eschewed, so to make warre, that as littell humaine bloudde be spilte as can be, and that the warres be ended as shortely as maie be. For this wisedome, that bringeth all good thynges with it, Salomon praied for, that she shulde alwaie bee assistent to his Throne, as a moste faithfull and trusty counsailour.

Finis.

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